614 main suku there are several others in Rewarangga, but they have moved in and are not original suku. But any one of them may be given land and become in effect "members" of the communities. Thus Tibo is a suku which has virtually entered Roworeke. Later I got some kind of an explanation that it was formerly a kampong on the hill above there, but has now moved into a section of Roworeke. In fact, I saw this section, with only about three houses, and it is called Kopoedo. Among the suku which are "foreign" in Rewarangga are Ambu Djawa, Ambu Nduru, and Ambu Rutu. Ambu means grandfather.

624 632 Later I got more information about the mosa laki. Evidently in the kapitanschap there are four big mosa laki: mosa laki mere, giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani. Then, in each kampong there are four with the same names, but they are on a lower level even though their functions are the same. I met the mig mosa laki mere and giri tumba of Rewarangga. They were old fellows, dignified, dressed in adat clothes, and most refreshing in contrast to the modernized Catholics like the kapitan and the guru. They are polite and quiet. I got the impression that maybe most
● [887] of the mosa laki are older men. They are probably mainly if not all pagan too, and probably mainly illiterate.

614 582 Talking with the kapitan and the scribe and a few other lads later, I learned that suku exogamy is not necessary if there is enough distance between the relatives. Thus the kapitan is married to a fellow-Odja. They noted, however, in my questioning, that most people seem to have married exogamously.

527 129 The second day was the Flag Day, and I took ten fellows in the jeep from Roworeke. After the ritual, which was not very impressive (the Sikka radja made a speech with little grace), we went
123 with Ariens (the Controleur) on a ride to Nanga-

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
●[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 554 Kraeng here is the original title for high nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

796 614 782 231 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is done by families or pangas. Each man in the group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunting.) [887] Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 535 574 555 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say here) is done at many feasts. Each house has some costumes, and the men may use them. They say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 527 526 533 In the afternoon we went to see some fine dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part of the week long independence festival. The lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and singing. [276] Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertainment [887] was complicated and good. Most drummers 200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

Wae
614 ration began. At the head of the group sat the
241 kelake of the Leworita ama doing the rite. On
796 one side sat two old men, one from Leworita and
231 the other from Hurint, who prayed. They were merely the oldest and cleverest ones there.
[301] They were real pagans, with bobbed hair, red necklaces of beads, and silver earrings. One had a tattoo (relatively young fellow). One
[769] prayed steadily, giving generations of Leworita and calling all these ancestors in turn, and at each generation the other chimed in with a chant. The rhythm was fine. On the other side sat the three; the man from Lewodoreng Waru'ing holding the head of the pig (as this ama has the Kottang function in this suku); the man from Engamaking holding the feet (as this ama has the Kelen function in this suku); and the man from Hurint, who cut, as usual.

178 To the side from these sat two old women
562 who were the tuno wudjo, one from Leworita and
796 one from Lewodoreng (they needed two because
● 887 the former was giving the rite, but it was on
241 the latter's ground). In the old days it was
614 always a young girl virgin who acted as tuno wudjo, but there are no more in these groups who are still pagan, so they have to use old women. I can see the same thing on the schedule: in Wailolong there are some tuno wudjo who are very young (e.g., three or four years old) as they are not yet Christians, but others are very old pagan women. Thus, the pagans are making the best of it, but what can they do when the old women are dead? The answer is found in Leloba, where they no longer are able to have rites. They have given up the suku and ama rites, but still have the kampong agricultural ceremonies. First, however, a mass is held in
[769] the chapel, and then they say prayers, but are allowed to recite the names of the ancestors. They no longer use the tuno wudjo, however.

178 After the ancestors are called, the pig is cut,
562 first sawed through the neck until the windpipe
796 is cut, and then with one blow the head is cut
241 off. The assistant said that if it is a big
●887 pig, a strong blow is required to knock the
769 head off with a single sweep.
614 Note that the two old men who prayed were from Leworita and Hurint. Evidently this makes no difference, but they do choose old people who know prayers (however, they have one from the suku giving the rite, as he must recite the names of their ancestors).

[276] Then betel was prepared and passed around. As the pig bled, blood splashed on the tusk which was lying on the ground beside one of the posts. This is a ritual tusk and is not very large. It is owned by the ama and is not used for bride prices. The second part of the rite--to give the food to the ground and posts --came next. The tuno wudjo and other old women took the rice and heaped it on a plate like a hillock. The men cut out the liver of the pig and chopped it up. The mixture was put on the ground, or rather a bit of it was, and also smeared on the four posts of the barn. Gin was
[273] meanwhile passed around (we got some), and it was also poured on the ground and sprinkled around under the barn. We left after this as the rite was over, but they went on to cook and eat the pork with the rice. This is a relatively small rite, although it was a part of the entire planting ritual complex.

614 One can say that each grouping (or, as the
241 assistant says, each barn) must have agricul-
796 tural rites. Thus, the system runs down from
343 the big kampong-barn-suku Kottang rite, with all the suku there and all the tuno wudjo (of all suku and ama); to the suku rites at each suku barn, and all suku and tuno wudjo at these too, in all five rites; and finally to the ama-

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

[114] We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
614 He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
796 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
831 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
784 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
241 gins, but now with so few young girls still
[857] pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[887] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[797] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

War

582 sirable and that for hundreds of years the folk
835 had been doing this sort of thing (first cousin
827 marriages) without any ill effects, to counter
179 his saying that first cousin marriages caused poor offspring, for example, feeble-mindedness. He took this barrage with polite resignation, but said that he had seen plenty of bad cases of close inmarriage children. The probability is that there is some inbreeding chance of recessives coming out, at least enough to use this argument of rationalization, and surely the priests have played up this "scientific" justification. It is interesting, however, that he uses the pseudo-rational explanation and not the appeal to divine authority, which would at once raise the issue of the wrongness of a strong pagan rule.

562 The next day, our last, was a half day, as
●887 I had to get to Maumere in order to get Kattenburg on the place to Makassar. At the end of the session we had lunch with the two guru, and the younger daughter served. Then I found out that in every house the oldest woman is the nu'a luka rumah tangga, paralleling the ritual functions for the women of the nu'a luka suku and the nu'a luka ama. The mother is in Makassar, and the eldest daughter is in the hospital, so this one acted as the server. The nu'a luka is important here, as she directs everything in regard to cooking and eating and also for caring for small animals, weaving, etc. She is the household manager. In this poor area food division is especially important.

127 I looked up the 1930 census material in the report of the Controleur then and found the following:

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
[836] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was abso-
lutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
64 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
● 887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave to-
gether, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc.,
at night. They just fall asleep there, together.
This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that
they get a section of a sleeping bench in one
of their parents' houses. There they bunch up.
Everyone knows where the groups hang out.
Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in
groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the
girls" who are old and widows, and who go back
to their girlhood days and sleep with their
coevals, and have a good time. If this is so,
it is practically a revived age-grade for the
girls who in their youth grew up and slept to-
gether and now at the end of their life bunch
up together again.

R

632 634 622 [77] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Present radja (Odja) | 5 years. |
| 2. | Preceding radja (Rewarangga) | 1 year. |
| 3. | Preceding radja (Odja) | 2 years. |
| 4. | Preceding radja (Odja) | 11 years. |
| 5. | Preceding radja (Odja) | 15 years. (approximate). |
| 6. | Preceding radja (Rewarangga) | 3 years (approximate). |
| | Total | 37 years |

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 ●887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

R

521 178 887 At feasts, when the old rites are put on, the old people reminisce over the old days and the old ways, especially when they get drunk. Then they are mournful.

562 641 There are no women in politics. They do not come to the election meetings and have no voice in the government. They are not even reckoned in when the population is totaled to determine the number of electors. They have no political representation, and Migo says that everyone would be against having women take any part in politics. It is simply not right.

829 He says that they are stupid here. By this he means only a few people know anything or ever say anything about Flores or Indonesian politics. And even about the local affairs they say almost nothing. It is starting today, and there are a few people who are thinking a little. But how absolutely rudimentary it is! This is the most backward place yet, by far.

Locally the people have a vague idea that Roworeke is the most important kampong in the district, because it is the center. The fact is, and the kapitan and a few others know this, that rank and influence of the districts in Ende is in the following order: Nggobe, Rodja, Rewarangga, and Pulo Ende. Below this are the other five. About all the people know is that Nggobe is by far the largest, the most populous, and thus the greatest.

They do not know what Ende's place in Flores is, or anything about the place which Flores occupies in Indonesia. This is beyond their ken. There are no political ambitions (yet note that the suku Reandona has been trying to get a man into the kapitan post). They are politically dead. They know and talk nothing about the Dutch, the Indonesian Republic, etc.

They knew that the Queen was their radja before, but that didn't mean much. They know

R

842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
● 887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

We.

796 held under the ama kebang.

241 782 Note the food symbolism in these most important rites. They take place under the barn.

● [887] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 [346] There are plenty of holy places, such as the kampong lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 527 The festival calendar is largely one of agricultural feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything [824] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

527 We
574 troubles in the kampong are due to influences
756 which must be exorcised.

756 This led to a discussion of the mbako.
[887] There are two to three mbako per kampong. They may be men or women, although they are usually men. They are called to work, a job which is not hereditary. They are always old people. They dream, see spirits (e.g., naga), look at their paraphernalia (for example, glass pieces, wood pieces), etc. However, there is no shamanism.

This led to a discussion of the secrecy surrounding the identity of the mbako. He is rather vague and said something about how they don't want to appear "proud." But this doesn't ring true, so I asked the mandur and he said it is because several mbako were imprisoned here because of witchcraft murders (what kind?). Anyway, here is the pattern of secrecy and fear which I see all over here.

166 Of those who have gone away, none has re-
574 turned to Yeol, as far as the assistant knows.
783 But there have been returnees to other kampongs.

If a returnee is a man who was imprisoned (note how often the jail theme comes up here; indeed the Dutch ruled by jails!) a feast must be given and buffalo killed. It is called the buka tali, to remove the rope. It also cleanses the returnee of the bad influence of the jail. When the Controleur Bedbeder and Pastor van Bekkum came back from Japanese imprisonment, wherever they went there was a buffalo feast in order to set them finally free.

166 If a family left the area without an argument,
574 then no feast is required on their return, un-
769 less it is a long time afterwards and they have come from far away. For example, a policeman or a soldier who has been away for a long while would go through such a ceremony. Then there must be a feast given for two purposes: to tell

War

462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
● [887] the work of the other sex. The old people putter about, for example, the old women make mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is redoubled each year, and if it is finally unpaid, there may be a court case and the person may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they borrow rice and corn and why they do this from kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in November and December, when the crops are growing. Thus if the population continues to increase, some will have to move. The reason the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's gardens was that there was an actual shortage of land. I didn't realize this trouble before. There are actually poor people here because the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even new gardens are possible here. But no one starves. I asked what the main worry was. They said getting cloth. It is very hard to get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those who do a bit of work in other people's gardens. The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In 1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang, the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.